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ABSTRACT

This study examines the role of women in local political office in Connecticut. It also investigates the proposition that attitudes toward women officeholders are affected by the number of women serving together on the local municipal council. Fifty female and 50 male politicians from towns and cities in Connecticut were interviewed. Perceptions of women's roles were divided into four categories: equal opportunity for women in public office, social integration of women politicians, personality differences between men and women politicians, and representation of a female constituency by women in public office. As expected, sex differences were evident on all four dimensions. For example, in terms of equal opportunity for women, men were far less likely than women to believe women were subjected to discriminatory treatment on the basis of sex. In terms of personality traits, women officials were regarded as "usually more idealistic" than men, and men were perceived to be "better suited emotionally" for political activities. Factor analysis of the responses showed that men's and women's attitudes were not correlated with the number of women serving together on the local political council. (AV)

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The Games People Play:

Perceptions of Women's Roles in Local Public Office

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Studies of the psychology of group behavior show that different relationships between the sexes emerge when there are different proportions of men and women in the groups (Kantor, 1975; 1977). One study of women in a corporate setting indicates that interaction among the members of the groups is affected by the relative number of women in a particular setting. The observation of women in a non-domestic setting often evokes discussion of the marginality of the female actors in the male-dominated environment (Lorber, 1975; Daniels, 1975; Prather, 1971; Bass et. al., 1971; Groszko and Morgenstern, 1974). Marginal people are those caught between two roles and wanting to belong to both, yet not fully belonging to either. Marginal members of a group are subject to role strain and conflicting role identities. Typically, there is a power struggle involved since marginality "implies superior status of one group and the minority status of another [and] the marginal one is stigmatized and excluded from positions of power by the dominant one" (Walstedt, 1974).

Tokenism often results from the pressure of the marginal group attempting to break into the world dominated by the majority group. Although Kantor refers to tokens as merely the members of the outgroup, the term takes on a symbolic meaning as well.

> Tokenism is the means by which the dominant group advertises a promise of mobility between the dominant and excluded classes. By definition, however, tokenism involves mobility which is severely restricted in quantity and the quality of mobility is severely restricted

> as well. The Token does not become assimilated into the dominant group but is destined for permanent marginality. The Token is a member of an underrepresented group who is operating on the turf of the dominant group, under license from it (Laws, 1975, p. 51).

When women, or any outgroup, exist as a minority of the dominant group, they may develop reactive responses such as increased awareness of the differences between the two groups or they may identify with the dominant group and attempt to remove themselves from identification with the subordinate group (Kantor, 1977; Staines, et. al., 1974). Perceptions of their acceptance may be at variance and dominants tend to ignore or discount the hardships suffered by the tokens as a result of their marginal status.

Public office is one area where women operate in a minority setting and are potentially subject to problems arising from marginality and tokenism. While women are becoming increasingly more evident in political office at all levels, little is known about their ability to function as members of their political organizations. There is a great deal written of the recruitment experiences of female politicians and some attention has been paid to issue preferences and policy orientations; however, the role of women in public office, particularly the special problems and difficulties peculiar to political women has not been systematically analyzed. Little attention has been paid to personality factors that hinder or help women to cope with the role strain resulting from their marginal positions, nor to the interaction between men and women in public office and their

differing perceptions of the way in which women play the political game.

Most studies of the attitudes and behavior of political women are interesting and informative about individual feelings involved and tell how women reacted to certain problems arising from role strain and marginality; however, since they are limited to samples of women only, no comparative male-female perspective is possible, and because they are largely biographical and anecdotal, it is difficult to generalize from them (see Lamson, 1968; Chamberlin, 1973; Tolchin and Tolchin, 1974; Diamond, 1977; Kirkpatrick, 1974). In these analyses there is little attempt to explore whether perceptions of female political actors held by females are different from those held by male political actors and whether there are sex differences in norms of female political behavior.

This study addresses itself to these questions by examining the role of women in public office in the state of Connecticut and determining whether perceptions of these roles differ according to sex. Since the literature on marginality stresses the importance of the relative number of marginal actors in a group dominated by the majority, this analysis will also determine whether perceptions of females in public office are affected by the number of women holding office together in a particular setting. The literature on marginality and tokenism and groups with memberships of sex-skewed ratios leads to the expectation that both questions will be answered affirmatively.

Connecticut Local Office

Because women constitute a much smaller proportion of political officeholders than men, they typically serve as minorities or sole members of legislative bodies. Although local governments have always offered women the greatest opportunity to serve as public officials, women still remain underrepresented in this area as well. It is often argued that women seek local political office since they are more easily accepted at this level by voters who assume women are closer to traditional local concerns (Costantini and Craik, 1972). Evidence exists that people are more likely to support female candidates for positions that conform to the female stereotype such as school board membership (Hedlund et. al., 1978). Local office is more congenial to women also since many of the problems inherent in holding public office at the state and national level do not pertain at this level (Mezey, 1978a). Whatever the reason, statistically the percentage of women office-holders is higher at the municipal level than at the state or federal level. Local public office therefore offers an attractive position to examine perceptions of women holding office and to discover whether these perceptions vary with the number of women holding office together on a particular council

Connecticut is a good site for the study of local women since it has proven to be somewhat more congenial than other states to the elected woman public official. Connecticut women

constitute roughly thirteen percent of local legislators -- slightly higher than the national average of about ten percent. Possibly the state's greater acceptance of women officeholders, also seen in the relatively high percentage of women state legislators (20.3% in 1977), encourages more women to run for office. Connecticut's particular form of local government or party organization (nominees to local office are selected by the town committee in each town) may also be responsible for the greater participation of women in local government.

Connecticut is also particularly well suited for a study of local government since political particpation among its citizens is closely tied to town meetings and local legislative governing bodies in the one hundred and sixty-nine towns within the state. Town governments represent an important part of community life; recently the state has even increased its efforts to "encourage effective local services and to strengthen the financial ability of towns to provide these services" (League of Women Voters, 1974, p. 203). Eight towns still conform to the original New England town meeting model while the remainder have adapted the model to suit their particular needs. All municipalities are governed today by legislative bodies; these range from a three-member Board of Selectman to a forty-seat Town Council.

Women in Local Office: The Sample

Fifty female politicians were randomly selected to be interviewed from towns and cities in Connecticut which had women representatives on the local legislative bodies; the selection was based upon a stratified random sample according to the size of the municipality. Personal interviews lasting from one-half hour to two hours were conducted with each respondent. A corresponding sample of fifty male officeholders was also interviewed. To focus on sex differences the males were matched to the women by town, age, and party affiliation; when possible, respondents were also matched by length of time in office. The matching procedure was relaxed when circumstances required as in small towns with a three-member Board of Selectman; in every case, however, females and their matched male respondents were members of the same board or council. As illustrated in Table 1, representatives from forty-one town councils were included in the survey.

Insert Table 1 Here

A comparison of the ages and number of years in office as well as the party affiliations shows that the matching attempts were successful. The average age of women respondents was 47.3, of men 45.4; the average number of years in office was 3 for the women and 3.5 years for the men. Thirty-one women and thirty-four men were Democrats, eighteen women and fifteen men were Republicans; one woman and one man were each members of a

locally-based conservative party.

Although there was one larger city council where as many as ten women served together, about half the councils in the survey (20) had only one woman on them. The rest ranged from two women together to five sitting in one council chamber. The mean percentage of women on the forty-one councils included in the survey was 24%; there were roughly 4-5 men to every woman on a council (the mean ratio was 4.6 to 1). The average number of women on each council was 2.8.

Perceptions of Equal Opportunity on Town Councils

Perceptions of the role of marginals or tokens in office often revolve around questions of acceptance of the minority members by the dominants in a social and professional setting as well as the ability of the minority to function effectively in their surroundings. Although some women politicians perceive advantages because of their unique position within politics, most observers of the political opportunity structure note a bias within political institutions that denies women the same opportunities as men to assume positions of political influence (see Diamond, 1977; Kirkpatrick, 1974, 1977; Tolchin and Tolchin, 1974; Mezey, 1979). Furthermore, while sex is not generally related to policy preferences, it is related to attitudes about women in office and concern for equal opportunity for women in elite roles (Cook, 1978; Jennings and Farah, 1978; Fiedler,

1975; Mezey, 1978b, 1979).

At least one study of perceptions of women officeholders found sex differences in attitudes towards women politicians: men were more inclined to underestimate problems that women encountered and more inclined to believe the problems stemmed from personal inadequacies rather than systemic bias. Women were more apt to point out obstacles placed in their paths and blame these obstacles on their environment and their male colleagues (Mezey, 1979). In sum, although political women express confidence in themselves and their ability to succeed in their political roles, they are cognizant of burdens imposed upon them because of their sex.

When questioned about equal opportunity in Connecticut local offices, the majority of female and male respondents agreed women have to work extra hard to prove their capabilities but felt that sex was not an important and certainly not insurmountable hindrance to the effectiveness of women as political actors. Most believed women were not unduly burdened by special problems. Disagreement arose over the degree of difficulty that sex imposes on female politicos. Table 2 compares male and female attitudes towards the effectiveness of women officeholders and their opportunities for political power.

Insert Table 2 Here

As the table indicates women are less sanguine about the opportunities available to them; women were less optimistic about

their potential influence and more willing to believe greater liabilities existed for them than for men. While these questions focused on women in local office, sex differences also appeared in their attitudes about women in politics in the abstract without mention of a particular level or kind of office. Men were far less likely to believe women were subjected to discriminatory treatment on the basis of sex. Table 3 illustrates these attitudes and shows that perceptions of women in local office are consistent with those of women at other levels of office. The Connecticut politicians are similar to those discussed in other studies in terms of recognition of a bias against women and sex differences in perceptions of that bias.

Insert Table 3 Here

Social Integration of Political Women

Social interaction is often considered an important part of a politician's behavior in office. Since many decisions are made outside the formal meetings and conferences, it is necessary to learn whether women attend the informal gatherings as well as the prescribed meetings. Other studies of female politicians report that women tend to feel isolated from men in extra-curricular activities and do not participate as fully as men in non-official events (see Diamond, 1977; Gehlen, 1969; Kirkpatrick, 1974).

These local politicians appear generally convinced of the

importance of social relationships as a part of their official responsibilities; the women are even more committed than the men and the majority of both sexes report engaging in informal activities with their political colleagues. However, as Table 4 shows, there was a difference of opinion about whether women suffer from sexual segregation in political life. Although the majority of women and men report that women are not frozen out of the informal interaction among councilmembers, the women seemed somewhat less sure. When asked whether women were "fully included," the female politicians were much less convinced of their equal social status.

Insert Table 4 Here

Personality Traits Among Women in Politics

One explanation for the scarcity of women in politics is that they lack necessary personality traits which are commonly found in male politicians. Although women politicians do not draw these conclusions, they also report a belief in personality differences and behavior patterns between themselves and their male colleagues (Kirkpatrick, 1974). The theory of personality differences between the sexes is reported in other studies: female political elites are reputed to have different concerns from men which stem from personality differences (Jennings and Thomas, 1968; Costantini and Craik, 1972). In a study of personality traits among elected politicians, males were

described as more "self-assured" and "self-controlled," while women were reputed to be more "assertive" and "imaginative" (Werner and Bachtold, 1974, p. 82). The authors concluded these were qualities which "appeared to be major assets in their success in a political role that is powerful, but also contradictory to sex-role expectations" (Werner and Bachtold, 1974, p. 82).

Political women are often placed in the difficult position of being forced to assume "masculine," i.e. successful, personality traits while retaining the image of a typical "feminine" personality. Their marginal status as women politicians imposes these contradictory sex-role norms. This problem is exemplified in a study of the 1963-64 Connecticut State Legislature which placed most female legislators in the "spectator" group. The group consisted of those with little ambition or sense of individuality and highly sensitive to approval or disapproval from others (Barber, 1965).

In the more than ten years since the state legislator study it is likely that sex differences in personality traits would be somewhat less pronounced and attitudes towards women politicians would be somewhat less negative. When asked about personality traits among women politicians, the local politicians in the sample did not subscribe to the view that women were inferior per se or unable to handle their political responsibilities. As Table 5 illustrates there was a good deal of agreement about personality differences between the sexes. Although a

large majority agreed that women in public office are as "logical and rational" as men, more than half the women and the men felt that political women are "usually more idealistic" than men; almost half the men and one-quarter of the women believed most men are "better suited emotionally" for political activities. Similarly, almost half believed that women are more "sensitive," "attach greater value to human life," and have more "artistic ability" than men, while more than half thought "feminine charm and diplomacy" can be a woman politician's greatest assets. As might be expected, women were less likely to adopt the position that women were less able to succeed in public life because of sex differences in personality traits.

Insert Table 5 Here

Representation

Representation is a recurring theme is the discussion of the roles that women politicians play in public life. The relationship between women politicians and women in society is an integral part of this theme; the question is often asked whether women are elected to office with a special mandate to represent women's interests, however those interests might be defined in a particular community.

This concept of representation, defined by Hannah Pitkin as "descriptive representation" assumes that women in public office are consciously motivated to speak for women's issues (Pitkin, 1967). An elected official who is "like" the people he or she

represents is said to "stand for" that group; the likeness is usually defined by race, color, ethnic origin, or sex. Pitkin also introduces the concept of "acting for" to expand upon descriptive representation. When a representative acts for a group in society, he or she is working for the benefit of the group, responding to pressure from it, and pursuing its welfare. Although the two notions of descriptive representation do not have to coalesce in one elected official, there is usually an expectation that this will occur. The efforts of various minority group members to increase the number of "like" politicians attests to the universality of this belief.

Women also cling to this tenet and one of the cornerstones of feminist policy is the election of more women to public office as symbolic of power and influence within the system and as an asset in implementing women's political interests. The policy is predicated upon the conviction, or at least hope, that women politicians will assume special responsibility for the passage of legislation to further the interests of women in society. Furthermore, feminists argue that women constituents expect female politicians to fulfil these obligations. Table 6 shows that women politicians in Connecticut local offices are in accord with this position, much more so than the men. All but one feel that women in politics set an example to women in society and a large majority believes that political women should take leading positions on women's issues. These women politicians are generally convinced that women "out there" expect them to

do so and that they have a special responsibility to their female constituents. The men in the sample were far less convinced of these matters. Not surprisingly, men were also much less disturbed about the number of women politicians.

Insert Table 6 Here

It might be supposed that feminism and sympathy for the women's movement are responsible for positive attitudes towards representation of women's issues and commitment to more women in politics; Table 7 shows that such is not the case. The correlations of these views with feminist leanings are uniformly weak and insignificant. While many of these Connecticut public officials sanction a strong representative role for women in office and acknowledge a special link between women in the mass public and women in office, these views do not stem from a feminist philosophy. Among these politicians, the notion of representation appears non-ideological; it probably arises from a vague concern for women's "interests" which are not necessarily political in content.

Insert Table 7 Here

The Effects of a Sex-Skewed Ratio

Sex plays an important part in determining attitudes towards the role of women in politics; perceptions and norms of women politicians' behavior are greatly influenced by one's sex.

The second question raised at the beginning of this study related to numbers of women sitting together; it was expected that perceptions of women's roles in office would be affected by the number of women on a council. To test this proposition a factor analysis was performed and four factors were extracted. The factors are comprised of items relating to perceptions of the liabilities, the representation role, social integration, and personality traits of women politicians. Table 8 shows the items and factor loadings in each factor. The factor analysis is used as a data reduction device to facilitate further analysis.

Insert Table 8 Here

Since many variables in each factor were significantly related to sex, it is not surprising that there were significant sex differences in each factor. Attitudinal variables such as political party affiliation or political philosophy were almost entirely unrelated to the four factors as were age, education, and income. Similarly, these perceptions were not associated with size of the municipality nor size of the council. Political characteristics such as executive position on the council, number of years in office, and ambition for higher office were also unrelated to the factors.

These perceptions, typified by each of the four factors, relate to women's roles as minority actors in an environment traditionally male-dominated and usually even defined in male terms, i.e., alderman, councilman, selectman. It is probable

that these perceptions vary according to the number of women present on a council, however, there are different ways of obtaining this indicator. In some cases the presence of a woman alone may be more important than the absolute number of women sitting together; in other cases, the ratio of men to women or percentage of women of the total council may have a more significant effect on perceptions of women officeholders. Attitudes towards the social integration of women politicians may change as the number of women on a council increases from one to two and bear little relationship to how many women there are altogether; alternatively, attitudes towards the representative role of women in public office may only be influenced by the absolute number of women sitting together. The ratio of men to women and the percentage of women on the council were two other indicators used in the analysis; each tells something different about the relationship between the sexes on a council. A woman alone on a three-person board results in a high percentage of women officeholders but subjects her to all potential disadvantages of a sex-skewed ratio. Similarly, a ratio figure alone is insufficient on a large council of twenty or more where there are four or five men to every women but a large number of women sitting together and less vulnerable to isolation or exclusion.

Contrary to expectations there were no relationships between perceptions of women's roles in office as expressed in the four factors and the number of women sitting together on the council. The hypothesized relationship does not exist among these council-

members: none of the measures of tokenism or marginality in a sex-skewed ratio affected their perceptions of women's roles. Since it might be expected that men and women are affected differently by the number of women on a council, individual correlations within each sex were performed on the relationships between the four factors and two measures of women on councils: the absolute number of women together and the presence of a woman sitting alone. None of these relationships were significant. Table 9 illustrates these results.

Insert Table 9 Here

Discussion

The first hypothesis was confirmed, the second was not. Sex differences in perceptions of women's roles were apparent in the several dimensions tested: social integration, representation of a female constituency, equal opportunity for women in public office, and personality differences between the sexes. The women were more cognizant of their marginal status than the men were; however, neither felt women could not play the political game successfully.

Even though other studies have suggested that the number of women in a position affects attitudes towards women, perceptions of the role of women in public office were not at all affected by the number of women in that role; these politicians did not react to a sex-skewed ratio in the same manner that people in other roles did.

It is difficult to do more than speculate on the reasons for this indifference to the number of women on the council. Perhaps it doesn't matter how many women serve on the council because the women are always in the minority; one could argue that there are simply not enough women in politics to affect perceptions of their role. It is also possible that the perceptions are convictions which are not reflective of the respondents' experiences on the councils and would not be affected by observed behavior on the councils. If the perceptions are not accurate measures of behavior on the council, they would not necessarily be altered by changes of council personnel, i.e., more women on it.

To test whether the perceptions of both women and men change as more women begin to serve as councilmembers and to determine whether these perceptions are actually related to behavior on the councils, time and direct observation are required. Furthermore, additional research in another locale is necessary to ascertain whether the opinions expressed by these politicians would conform with the opinions of other politicians -- at other levels of office in a different geographic area.

TABLE 1

Selection of the Sample

Population of Municipality	Number of Women Sampled[a]	Number of Municipalities Sampled[b]
Under 5,000	5	5
5,001 to 15,000	11	10
15,001 to 25,000	12	12
25,001 to 50,000	6	5
Over 50,000	16	9

[a]Men were selected from the same towns as the women.

[b]More than one woman representative was selected in the following municipalities: Monroe (2); Manchester (2); Danbury (2); New Haven (3); Waterbury (2); and Stamford (4). The municipalities were divided into five size categories according to their populations and the number of women from each of the five groups was calculated as a percentage of the total number of women in office; this percentage was then computed as a percentage of the total sample size. The female officeholders were numbered and randomly chosen from a table of random numbers until the five groups were each filled. Women who declined to be interviewed were replaced by the next random number in their group.

TABLE 2

Perceptions of Equal Opportunity for Women in Local Office By Sex[a]

Measures of Equal Opportunity	% Women Agree(n=50)	% Men Agree(n=50)
Sex hinders the effectiveness of women on local councils	20	12
Women are as likely as men to accumulate power on local councils	62	62
Women on local councils have to work extra hard to prove themselves to their male colleagues*	82	42
Women have a great deal of difficulty moving up into the hierarchy of leadership in state politics**	56	24
Women in local government have special problems which diminish their effectiveness	32	20
Women have same opportunities as men to get elected to local public office	66	80

[a]Unless noted, relationships are not significant at the .05 level.

*Phi=.41 ($p<.001$)

**Phi=.32 ($p<.01$)

TABLE 3

Perceptions of Liabilities of Women Politicians By Sex[a]

Perception of Liability	% Women Agree(n=50)	% Men Agree(n=50)
Women have special liabilities in campaigns	52	58
Women in office have special liabilities	34	36
Women are not inside the smoke-filled rooms with men	24	18
Party hierarchy is last to see woman's potential even when she has strong base of support*	46	22*
Women can never get to inner circles of power**	40	12
A woman has to be twice as good as a man to succeed in politics***	60	30
Women get most of the dirty work chores in politics while men hold the real power****	54	32

[a]Unless noted, relationships are not significant at the .05 level.

*Phi=.25 ($p<.05$)

**Phi=.31 ($p<.01$)

***Phi=.30 ($p<.01$)

****Phi=.22 ($p<.05$)

TABLE 4

Views on Social Integration of Local Women Politicians By Sex[a]

Perception of Social Interaction	% Women Agree(n=50)	% Men Agree(n=50
Informal activities are important to politician's work	92	84
Discusses political business at informal gatherings	88	90
Women are likely to be frozen out of informal political contacts	28	12
Women are fully included in informal political contacts*	48	80

[a]Unless noted, relationships are not significant at the .05 level.

*Phi=.33 ($p<.01$)

TABLE 5

Perceptions of Sex Differences in Personality Traits By Sex[a]

Personality Traits	% Women Agree(n=50)	% Men Agree(n=50
Women are more sensitive to problems of poor and underprivileged than men are	56	40
Women have more artistic ability than men do	26	40
Men are better at economics and business than women	22	38
Women attach greater value to human life than men do	44	40
Feminine charm and diplomacy can be a woman politician's greatest assets	60	56
Most men are better suited emotionally for politics than most women	24	42
Women in public office can be just as logical and rational as men	98	90
Women in politics are usually more idealistic than men	64	54

[a]Unless noted, relationships are not significant at the .05 level.

TABLE 6

Attitudes Towards Representation by Women Politicians By sex[a]

Views on Women Politicians	% Agree Women(n=50)	% Agree Men(n=
Women in politics serve as examples to women in society*	98	84
Women politicians have special responsibility to represent the interests of women in society**	56	12
Women members of local councils should take leading positions on women's issues	68	48
Women in society look to women in office to take such positions***	82	62
There are too few women in political office****	96	62

[a]Unless noted, relationships are not significant at the .05 level

*Phi=.24 (p .05)

**Phi=.46 (p . 001)

***Phi=.22 (p .05)

****Phi=.41 (p .001)

TABLE 7

Correlations of Pro-feminist Attitudes and Views on Descriptive Representation: Pearson's r

Attitudes towards Descriptive Representation[a]	Pro-feminist Attitudes[b]	
	Sympathy for WM[c]	Self-image as feminist[d]
Women as examples	-.07(ns)	-.14(ns)
Special responsibility	.10(ns)	.20(.02)
Leading positions	.12(ns)	-.03(ns)
Expectations of such positions	.02(ns)	-.18(.04)
Number of women in office	-.12(ns)	-.06(ns)

[a]For wording of statement see Table 6; agreement with feminist position coded 1, disagreement coded 2.

[b]Support for feminism coded 1, non-support coded 2.

[c]n=98

[d]n=99

TABLE 8

Factor Analysis of Items Relating to Perceptions of Women Politicians' Roles

Item	Factor I[a]	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Women have same opportunities as men to get elected	-.75301	.13622	-.08787	-.02691
Women get most of the dirty work chores	.58712	-.13478	.41380	.14376
Party does not see women's potential	.64066	.03688	.28458	-.01474
Sex hinders the effectiveness of women	.67155	.01523	-.10357	-.20030
Women have special problems	.58908	.30713	-.11320	.21549
Women politicians should lead on women's interests	.03561	.80390	.05227	.08619
Women in society expect them to take lead	-.07343	.69162	.03151	.13408
Women politicians have special responsibility to women in state	.12940	.50248	.44926	-.33379
Women politicians are frozen out of social interaction	.04775	.02065	.81665	.02936
Women politicians are fully included	-.13192	-.16665	-.83123	-.12849

TABLE 8 (cont.)

Item	Factor I	Factor II	Factor III	Factor IV
Men are better at economics than women	.01250	.18571	-.09506	.71879
Political women are more idealistic than men	.12795	.08858	.29668	.55939
Men are better suited emotionally for politics	-.09518	-.07148	.04271	.74719
Eigenvalue	3.16390	1.80302	1.50607	1.36721
% of Variance	22.6%	12.9%	10.8%	9.8%
Cumulative %	22.6%	35.5%	46.2%	56.0%

[a]Factor I, Equal Opportunity; Factor II, Representation; Factor III, Social Integration; Factor IV, Personality Traits. Varimax rotated factor matrix.

TABLE 9

Correlations of Factors and Number of Women on Local Councils: Pearson's r[a]

Factors	Absolute # of Women	Ratio of Men[b] to Women	% of Women[c]	Presence of[d] Sole Woman
I	-.04(ns)	.03(ns)	.01(ns)	-.09(ns)
II	-.04(ns)	.02(ns)	-.01(ns)	-.07(ns)
III	.06(ns)	-.06(ns)	.04(ns)	.06(ns)
IV	.08(ns)	.04(ns)	-.00(ns)	.04(ns)

	Women Only[e]		Men Only[f]	
Factors	Absolute #	Sole Woman	Absolute #	Sole Woman
I	.01(ns)	-.10(ns)	-.11(ns)	-.09(ns)
II	-.05(ns)	.04(ns)	-.05(ns)	-.19(ns)
III	.12(ns)	.15(ns)	-.01(ns)	.03(ns)
IV	.07(ns)	.03(ns)	.10(ns)	.05(ns)

[a] n=100

[b] Ratio=Total number on council divided by number of women together.

[c] Percent = Number of women on council divided by total number on council.

[d] Recoded: Woman alone=0, 2 women or more=1.

[e] n=50

[f] n=50

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